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Al-Qadhdhafi Speech Marks Expulsion of U.S. Bases*LD111720 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic**1602 GMT 11 Jun 86*

[Speech by Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi on 11 June to mark the 16th anniversary of the expulsion of the U.S. bases from Libya; place not specified — live or recorded]

[Text] [Words indistinct] May God bring back this day to the revolutionaries of the Arab nation in victory and to the coward and submissive rulers of the Arab nation in defeat and loss. May God make this day a blessed day for the progressive revolutionary Arab movement and an ill-omened day for the rulers of the Arab nation and its reactionary forces which are drowning in humiliation and subservience.

On this occasion, I wish to speak about current issues and say something about the future.

While we are celebrating the anniversary of the expulsion of the U.S. forces, we are facing a cruel and unjustified attempt aimed at the returning of these forces to Libyan territory again. The United States is angry because it suffered a defeat at the hands of the Great 1 September revolutionaries, because their forces were evicted from Libyan territory, and because the five bases that existed on Libyan territory were being undermined in the days of humiliating independence [as heard] and the days of the traitorous coward and defunct royalty; in the days of its deputies, ministers, and ambassadors and all those who were part of the disdained humiliated era; and in the days of a national flag and a recorded national anthem championed by that agent [not further identified] together with all those who took part in the defunct regime who share the disgrace, shame, national treason, and cowardice — be they small or big.

May the curse of the Libyan people be upon them on this day of evacuation, and upon them the [word indistinct] of the martyrs on the day of evacuation: That moment was considered to be a form of independence such as the Arab states have now. But the revolution exposed the truth and showed that was in fact occupation, not independence. We have independence and freedom today which is why the United States is trying by force to return to this land; but it is being turned away defeated. This shows that this is a free country which defends its independence. The U.S. forces are now advancing in Egypt and are not being turned away; on the contrary they are being welcomed, received, and hosted. They are carrying out maneuvers to occupy Egypt one day and they practice maneuvers so they can implement them in occupying Libya. The U.S. raids on Libyan soil prove that this land is free and dear and that it resists; it is no simple matter to enter it or for the dirty American foot to step on it. So, the attempts which the United States is making now are aimed at returning their forces to the same bases from which they were expelled. This in itself is an indication that this country is now free and is resisting this return. And indeed, the United States was defeated in its attempt to enter the Gulf of Sidra; it was defeated in its attempt to enter Tripoli and Benghazi and in the attempt to reach its goal.

On this occasion we are celebrating the anniversary of the expulsion of the forces whose dangerous presence on Libyan soil before 1970 cannot be underestimated. The United States used to maintain the biggest bases outside its territory on Libyan soil and it used to occupy the long coast of the Arab homeland.

It controlled the Gulf of Sidra from inside Libya. It was also in control of the southern Mediterranean and conducted its imperialist strategy from inside Libyan territory. It controlled Libya's air, land, and sea from these bases. Britain also maintained full military control over the east of the country which it secured after World War II. It used the Adem base in Tubruq as a support point, and its forces in the Mediterranean and in Europe came and held annual maneuvers without permission from and without telling the Libyans. They crossed from the Gulf of Bumbah, the port of Tubruq, and the Adem base to hold maneuvers in the Batnan hills and in the Jabal al-Akhdar as if they were part of Britain.

Britain too is very angry that it was deprived of this possibility after the revolution. It used to occupy an Arab land and a base situated on the border between Libya and Egypt which has a strategic importance in fighting Arab unity, the Arab revolution, and the growing Arab nationalist movement. Despite the fact that it was defeated and deprived of all this by the insurgents of the Great 1 September Revolution, Britain felt the same rancour and wrath as the United States and shares the desire to try and return to these bases it was driven out of. Therefore, the aggression becomes clear. It was a direct American-British aggression, [carried out with the help of] the platform offered by NATO to this aggression in the form of bases and facilities in Italy and Spain as well as in Turkey and the rest of the occupied areas; as well as the Arab areas which are considered to be semi-occupied and whose independence is regarded as false and which are considered to be under effective control even though they appear to be independent states. The Arab states around us have been submissive and subjugated and they bowed before the U.S. aggression and offered all their facilities to the U.S. fleet.

However, the day will come when they have to pay the price. The United States will not save them when the greatest crisis occurs, when the revolution will be inevitable, and when their fate will be the same as the fate of the shah of Iran, Idris al-Sanusi, and Haile Selassie. I know that they will not learn their lesson until they have been toppled.

We celebrate this anniversary of the evacuation of the U.S. forces from Libyan territory on 11 June while we are witnessing an attempt to return by force. From this we learn that the choice of Libya to build U.S. and British bases on its land is a strategic choice to benefit the Western powers which are hostile to us. So, the occurrence of the revolution and the evacuation of these bases do not cancel the strategic importance of Libya to Western countries. Libya is still of strategic importance for Western countries in their international conflict and for controlling the Mediterranean, Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, North Africa, and the Mediterranean. [repetition of 'Mediterranean' as heard] They are trying to move closer to the USSR and the Warsaw Pact to surround them so that they could defeat them if another world war occurred. The strategic importance of Libya remains firm and quite valuable for these colonialist countries. Therefore, their

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evacuation from Libya does not cancel the strategic importance of Libya as far as they are concerned. The location of Libya is very important to anyone who wants to control the Mediterranean, or North Africa, or even to influence Central Africa, the Arab region, or even the European region.

I want to show the Libyans that the position of their country is very dangerous and strategically sensitive. Whoever controls it can control the region and has a number of strategic keys in its hands. Thus, the attempt to control this tempting position prompts new aggressions. In addition to the fact that the population is small, the surface area is very large and Libya's potential is huge — to the extent that the Libyans cannot manage it. I mean, the Western countries and the Zionists too have always studied and asserted that Jabal al-Akhdar is not fully utilized, the Libyans are not able to exploit it, and therefore this Jabal must be occupied. This was the very good reason why Italy occupied Libya in 1911. At that time they used to say that Libya's map was merely a piece of paper except for Jabal al-Akhdar. They say that oil is too big a resource for the Libyans and they cannot exploit it. What do the Libyans do with this wealth? They cannot exploit it usefully. They say the Libyans are not educated, that they are ignorant and therefore cannot manage (this resource). The colonialist pretext is always there. Wherever there is a vacuum it must be filled; it is a natural thing that wherever there is a vacuum it must be filled. As we have repeatedly said, whenever there is an area of low air pressure, air from a higher pressure zone will come and fill it. This is why wind disturbances, storms, and even rain occur.

The vacuum is always filled in. But what has been filled in cannot be filled in a second time; like a glass full of water when you bring in another glass of water to pour into it. If it is empty you bring in another glass of water to fill it. This aggression is in fact aimed at Arab leadership, Islamic leadership, African leadership, and revolutionary leadership. It is against Arab revolution because it is an established fact. There is no justification for it; not because an American was killed at a club in Berlin or a plane was hit. Even if this happened, even if the perpetrator was a Libyan he could be taken to court in Berlin, or Rome or Athens. At this moment they still do not know who carried out these operations. Do not try to find justifications for the aggression. The aggression was aimed at controlling the Arab nation and undermining the strong shout which was raised at the dawn of 1 September Revolution in 1969. The aggression was aimed at destroying the Arab nation and guaranteeing the existence of the Israelis in the Arab region. The Arab nation must be occupied to effectively ensure the existence of the Israelis in the future and to put an end to the problem of so-called Judaism, so that Europe can get rid of the problem of Jews by establishing a state for them in the Arab nation and at the expense of the Arabs. Then in the future, the occupation of the Arab nation is plausible; the occupation of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, and Morocco is plausible. All these Arab countries and the states of the Arab peninsula can be occupied plausibly to ensure the existence of the Israelis in the future. Obviously, [word indistinct] several things out of the reality of its analysis and what it [word indistinct]. On 11 June 1977 at Darnah, I delivered a speech and I talked about what has now happened in 1986. People who listened then applauded and after that it was entered in the national register and it was not heard again. I will tell the radio

to rebroadcast it during the coming few days to prove that what I said in 1977 has been proved now. I said that this desire to control Libya has been evident since the 18th Century.

In April 1805 when the United States attack took place — imagine it, against Darnah by the U.S. fleet; four U.S. destroyers shelled Darnah on April 1805 so that the United States could occupy Darnah and Tripoli — during that time did Berlin exist? And [words indistinct] or even the Palestinian cause? Or Al-Qadhdhafi? Or someone called Abu Nidal, or the presence of the Palestinian resistance, or the fact that there are operations against U.S. imperialism all over the world? The entire world hates the United States and fights it everywhere. If we have to pay the price for all operations against the United States this means that they have to attack us a hundred times every day. The whole world hates the United States and pursues it everywhere. Several operations against the United States will take place there. We are [word indistinct] for it. All peoples are now fighting against imperialism. Do we instigate every incident against the United States? [Words indistinct] tyranny, injustice is instigated by force because the United States, formerly composed of fifty countries has become one single state. We the Arabs are composed of 20 states and we are trying to become 21 states; and if we become 22 states, afterward we will be weak. As long as our number increases we will become weak. If the Arab nation was one nation the United States would not have dared to threaten Libya, Syria, or any Arab country. It has restricted the call for Arab unity which we have raised since the beginning of the revolution [words indistinct] for the establishment of Arab unity. There are those who are aware of the necessity of unity; I mean the necessity without which the Arabs will be harmed. This is the meaning of the word necessity in the Arabic language — a word which we utter thousands of times every day, we say necessary, necessary, necessary [word indistinct]. This is not related to [word indistinct]. If unity does not exist this will be harmful. Human beings need air; without air a person will come to harm. This is why we say something is necessary, when we say that Arab unity is necessary; this means that without it the Arab nation will be harmed. In fact this aggression is harmful; the occupation of Palestine is harmful; bombing Tunisia is harmful; bombing Lebanon is harmful; the Palestinian resistance and the Palestinian people who are being destroyed — all this is harmful to the Arab nation. Therefore, Arab unity is necessary. It will ward off this harm. We are not calling for unity for sentimental reasons but because it is necessary; consequently, the struggle should continue to achieve it. Even if we lose, and even if we make sacrifices to achieve this aim, we have done something right. If we are going to die, let us die. They strike us in our tents, in our homes, in our camps, and in our towns. They want to strike us — let them strike us. But we will fight. We will fight to change the Arab map and to establish Arab unity. Arab unity can be achieved through faith. We must enter into battle for the sake of establishing Arab unity whether peaceably or by war. This is because it is necessary. He who (?opposes it) only wrongs himself. For this nation wants to be united. The United States alone and Washington alone [words indistinct] by force. Bismark unified Germany, by force; Garibaldi unified Italy by Force; Mao Zedong unified China by force.

We are a divided nation which should be unified by whatever means. I call on all the living forces in the Arab nation to take

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up arms and fight to change the map and unify the Arab nation. They must not show any respect to these false scepters and these submissive rulers and these borders which were delineated by the British, Americans, French, and Italians. They were the ones who changed the map of the Arab homeland and created these states. They must be trodden underfoot. The rulers, scepters, and borders must all be trodden underfoot.

The aggression had its reasons: the desire to dominate the Arab nation and to destroy Libya as a country which instigates Arab unity and liberation and rejects the existence of the Zionist entity. We recognize nothing and we will fight and teach our sons and their sons how to fight against something called Israel. We do not [word indistinct] Israel.

We are with the Jews and we support the rights of Jews to live in peace and equality anywhere in the world. The French Jew must live in France. If he comes to Palestine, this would mean that France is persecuting Jews. We ally ourselves with the Jews against such persecution. If a group of Jews comes from Germany to Palestine, since they are Germans, this would mean that Germany is persecuting Jews and we must ally ourselves with them against this persecution. We side with the persecuted wherever they may be.

But we do not accept the establishment of an Israeli state on Arab soil. We will resist it until we destroy it. This is because its existence conflicts with our existence.

The United States has sent me its ambassador to the Vatican. He is a good man who supports the Arab cause. He is an ambassador to the Vatican and he wanted to give us an opportunity [words indistinct]. Italy mediated. The Italian ambassador came to me and so did the Italian Government and said to me: Please let him have 5 minutes. He came to me in the tent they described. He said: In fact the problem between you and us is not concerned with the Gulf of Sidra or the Palestine issue. We know that the Gulf of Sidra is a Libyan gulf. As regards Palestine, we cannot agree with you about it.

What is the cause of the conflict then, I asked him. He said the conflict first concerns Tunisia. Why Tunisia? He said: because of the succession to Bourguiba. Reagan says we must agree who should succeed Bourguiba. After Bourguiba what will Tunisia's destiny be? In fact, I scolded him and through him, I scolded his President. I told him first that Reagan cannot guarantee that he himself will be alive after Bourguiba goes. Who can guarantee that Reagan will not die before Bourguiba?

This is one point. The other point is that this constitutes an unbearable insult to the Tunisian people. Tunisia has its people who will decide the fate of their country after Bourguiba and after those who succeed him.

What right have you and I to consult behind the curtain on the future of Tunisia, as though Tunisia was a cow, as though it was a [words indistinct] cow? Who is to carry it, or look after it, or slaughter it? How can this be? Tunisia is a people, a people (?that does not need Reagan) to hold consultations on the future of Tunisia after Bourguiba. Indeed, I closed this door and told him: If you want tension to end...[Al-Qadhdhafi apparently

changes thought] He said: Tension will end if you reach agreement with us on the future of Tunisia, the future of Chad, and the future of Egypt. At that time the [words indistinct] had fallen. I told him: If you want tension to end, you should not talk about Tunisia, Chad, and Egypt and you should not interfere in Tunisia, Chad, or Egypt. [Words indistinct] Why should you care what state Tunisia will be in after Bourguiba? Tunisia is an Arab state and we are more entitled to be concerned about it than you. We are Arabs and we are more entitled to be concerned about each other. And then there are [words indistinct].

Do we or the Tunisians, I told him, have the right to talk about the future of the United States after Reagan? I told him: This is an American nonsense and insolence which we do not accept, and we tell you to leave Chad, Egypt, and Tunisia and not to talk about these regions. Then (?they committed) the aggression, and said, by God, it was for the sake of the Gulf of Sidra. Well, the Gulf of Sidra problem ended. Then they committed aggression, saying: You have SAM-5 missiles. [Words indistinct] Does the Soviet Union have the right to attack us because I have inter-continental missiles? These missiles are a danger to the Soviet Union [words indistinct] constitutes a danger to the U.S. aircraft in the Mediterranean. All these battles around the SAM-5 and the Gulf of Sidra ended, and then they said it was because of the Berlin night club of which we had not heard and [words indistinct]. They indeed carried out a very insolent aggression.

If we had strategic aircraft which could reach London or New York, then on the same day we would have launched raids against these capitals as they launched raids against our capital. The issue is not just a raid which was carried out and finished. By God, if we had a force similar to theirs, then today we would be bombing and destroying their capitals. What do (?they think of us)? Not because there are justifications for stopping the war, stopping the war. [sentence as heard] If anyone commits aggression against you and your children in your house — if you have a force similar to his then you should reply, and reply twice as hard. If we had a military power, then on April 15th we would not have hesitated to attack New York or London. This is a legitimate action and self-defense. But we are a small country which does not have the resources of the United States. Therefore, we will reserve our right to self-defense, (?as we have repeatedly said). When they launched the attack, we should have repelled them even if the whole of our people died.

Because of this, every Libyan should come forward, through the Basic People's Congress, to pay 200 dinars. Anyone who can pay it immediately should do so; those who cannot should pay it by installments even over a year. This is so that with this 100 million dinars we can buy rifles for 1 million Libyans.

Yesterday I learned that Darnah will remain an armed city because it is a target of U.S. aggression. Whenever there is a landing in an attempt to occupy positions on the Mediterranean, Darnah will be among these positions. They think that it is isolated. In 1805 they attempted to occupy it. A fierce battle took place in the streets of Darnah between us and the Americans, and they were defeated and they were expelled, and the evacuation treaty was signed on June 11th 1805. The second evacuation was on June 11th 1970.

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This means that there was a continuous struggle. That is a state which wants to dominate the region. Libya is attractively located and it has a small population, so they believe that they can bring it under their control once more in order to use it in their strategy of aggression.

It follows that Libyan towns must be armed so that any future U.S. landing would be annihilated. Defense lines must also be built to protect everything on the coast, deep into the Jamahiriyah, so that we can fight indefinitely.

Concerning this subject, I tell you that if the United States persists in its provocations and encroachments, and when it becomes clear to the world that the operation is meant to humiliate and to encroach on Libya, then we must urgently convene the people's congresses to decide what must be done, to discuss the question of war. Because if we are to enter a war we must bear the consequences of war with a superpower. We should not be surprised by any destruction, but we must be fully happy and satisfied to fight in combat the infringement of national sovereignty, and the official state terrorism which the United States wants to impose in its desire to humiliate one of the peoples of the Arab nation.

Then the battle would effectively engulf all the Arab region and the Mediterranean. Masses from Africa, from the Arab homeland and from all over the world would participate with us in the fighting. As for the United States, it must realize that it is a cowardly state, avoiding entering into battle with us face to face. But we might force it into this and prevent it from attacking from a distance.

At the same time, if we decide on war we will have to destroy its fleet and bases in Europe and bear the responsibility for that, even if it takes nuclear weapons; it used them against Japan and Japan is now economically stronger than the United States. We have deserts and wide areas that would absorb many an atom bomb. We are not densely populated. As for the cities, we would leave the combatants in them and move out to the countryside and the suburbs which we would use for building farms and breeding livestock. We would then live as sultans; we would confront the United States while singing and dancing.

This is why I was extremely angry when people left their homes and switched off their lights. That is not right. It tell you: if we are to fight we must fight while dancing and singing, and if we are to die we will die with joy. If you are to die, whether frightened or not, you will die when you must.

But there is a tremendous challenge and great resistance and our streets will be shining with lights. Let the bombs hit the generators; only then will the lights go out. So what? We were expecting the attack on Bab al-'Aziziyah and still the lights were left on, and as some construction and repair work was being carried out, there were some searchlights; but even lights in the houses were on, as normal, until they hit them with some bombs, when some lights were smashed and wires were cut. The lights went out in some parts of house only as a result of the shelling. We challenged and everything had to stay normal. We do not leave our houses, and when we leave them we only leave them to go out demonstrating. The time that Bab al-'Aziziyah, was

shelled — at 0200 — should be taken as a time to organize demonstrations of challenge, defiance and to demand arms. We do not leave the cities.

The Americans [word indistinct]. If we decided to take out the children and grandmothers to stay outside the cities, the rest of us, men and women who can carry arms, should stay in the buildings, the streets, and holiday resorts in order to fight, whether the fighting is face to face fighting, fighting a seaborne landing or air raids. If they decide, however, to use inter-continental missiles, then we should use some other means to fight. We have some horrifying means to use against the Americans but we have not authorized their use yet. The Americans must understand that they are facing a stubborn challenger and they will never find respite in their war against us. They must also understand that they have only one course — to recognize our rights and to negotiate with us on equal footing, as their bombs and their huge weaponry will not frighten us. At the end is only death, and we are ready to die while saying "no".

However, our leadership of pan-Arabism, the Arab revolution, and the international revolution — America claims that we have taken the revolution to its doors. Reagan said that they have created another Libya at his doorstep — he means Nicaragua. Our leadership of pan-Arabism and the Arab revolution, and our historic and brave resistance to imperialism and to NATO, has been baptized in blood, in the blood of our sons and the blood of our soldiers, and the Gulf of Sidra started to actually become a red gulf, as we said it would, because of the blood of the Libyan martyrs, the Libyan fighters, the soldiers of the Navy and Air Force, and the blood of the U.S. aggressors. We are continuing. As we said, our motto is always similar to what Churchill said to the Germans: We are waiting for you, so are the fish.

The position of [word indistinct] is in fact an immoral position. I would like to tell you that the immoral stand of the whore Thatcher [words indistinct] has no justification for aggression against Libya. Libya placed its resources at the disposal of Britain during World War II. The Libyans allied themselves with the British. They enabled them to defeat the Italians and the Germans. This was a favor presented by the Libyans to the British forces during World War II, until they were able to defeat Germany and Italy on Libyan soil. The Libyans allied themselves with the British during World War II and granted them all the facilities which enabled them to defeat the axis and the forces of the axis. This was a favor which Britain should have remembered. But as I told you, regarding the British prime minister — what sort of a person is she anyway — the issue is a moral one — she is not an honorable person and is not even good enough to repay favors; she is not good enough to lead a country like Britain. She made her country into a U.S. aircraft-carrier. The aircraft took off from aircraft-carriers in the sea and from Britain together. Therefore, the British isles became a U.S. aircraft-carrier. Therefore, it deserves to be called a U.S. aircraft-carrier. This is a shame and a humiliation inflicted by the British prime minister on her country. In books and newspapers and officially we will insist on calling it a U.S. aircraft-carrier until we see that it has been liberated and it is no longer an island which carries U.S. aircraft anymore.

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That woman got in touch with King Hassan II and told him: I beg your friend Al-Qadhdhafi to save me because I am about to fall, by convincing his people to release the four British detainees and in return I will do him a political service. I cannot release the detained Libyans because of purely legal considerations, but I can do something political in the interest of Libya from now onwards. She did this through doctor, whose name...[Al-Qadhdhafi tries to remember the name] He came to me. King Hassan II telephoned me and conveyed this message and then the doctor and said the same thing [words indistinct] because he was the one who met with Thatcher.

I said alright for the sake of King Hassan and in view of her pleading and her saying that her fall was in the hands of Al-Qadhdhafi and that her success was in the hands of Al-Qadhdhafi. He could ease matters for me by releasing the four, she pleaded with King Hassan. We Arabs have gallantry and manners. However, we have come to realize in the end that the West is very mean and they are creatures that come somewhere between gorillas and pigs and human beings. In fact, they must not be respected as human beings. They are backward Berbers although they describe us as Berbers when in fact they are the Berbers. It became evident that they have no conventions nor ethics nor logic and cannot understand where right lies and where wrong lies.

However, I asked the people's congresses to release them and so they were released.

See now how this fallen woman has rewarded us. She allowed the Americans to use their bombers to attack us and to attack my house particularly. I mean, the entire operation was intended to kill Al-Qadhdhafi, who had done her this favor. She rewarded him by preparing the most sophisticated planes equipped with lasers which can steer bombs toward their targets.

See the morals of the English! See the morals of the British prime minister! See the decadence! When the aircraft were attacking from the British bases, the despicable king of Jordan was toasting Thatcher. He was in Britain at the time, and he has now crossed to his master, Israel's rabid dog Reagan, to lick his feet. And Reagan scorned him as he scorned Husni Mubarak before him, when he left him waiting for 3 days before seeing him. Reagan — God forbid it from you — was with three of his dogs at the [word indistinct] park, quite indifferent. He left him 2 or 3 days, cut off, then he kindly met him some time, as an insult to the Arabs, to Jordan and the people of Jordan, for its king to be degraded that way.

I ask that today, 11 June, we stage a noisy demonstration in order to spit — God forbid it from you — in the face of the despicable king and send cables to the fraternal people of Jordan and its forces, institutions and the Jordanian Army, its officers and soldiers, through teleprinters and the Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in order to denounce Husayn's meeting with Israel's rabid dog Reagan. He shakes his hands while they are still dripping with the blood of our children, martyrs and soldiers.

They are Arabs who no longer have dignity and do not feel shame. They have lost everything and have become pigs. They no longer have dignity, pride or honor. And, indeed, since the occupation

of Beirut, since the siege of Beirut and the attack against Beirut in 1982, in such a month the Arab regimes have ended up under the ruins of Beirut. They should have hidden themselves in shame, and the bottom of the earth would have been more appropriate for them than its surface. Since that time we have said that the Arab regimes, the Arab parties and the Arab armies have lost the reason for their existence, and only the Jamahiri [word indistinct] remains. It should officially replace them.

I want to say to the Arab armies and, the Arab revolutionary force, the Arab peoples, the workers, the peasants, the students, the small employees, and all the toilers in the Arab homeland, especially the ones who have weapons in their hands, that their governments have lost the justification for their existence, that their survival only records more shame on the Arab nation, and that the matter is now in their hands and the responsibility rests on their shoulders. They should advance in order to kill off the official Arab regimes who failed in the face of the U.S. raid to meet even at the foreign ministers level. And the Arab kings and presidents failed to hold an extraordinary meeting, while Europe met at all levels until it was able to [words indistinct] which was aborted by the Japanese people. And we greet the Japanese people and the leftist revolutionary force in Japan and ally ourselves with it in our joint struggle against imperialism, in order to defeat imperialism and remove the hegemony from the great people of Japan and remove the hegemony of the big powers, the dirty imperialists, from the world. But the Arab kings and presidents, and even their foreign ministers, failed to meet.

The Arabs looked very shameful to the world. These ministers, these rulers, councils and generals ought to hide themselves in shame and disgrace. The lieutenants, NCOs, troops, youths, the poor, the peasants, the wage-earners, the toiling workers and the junior civil servants must come forward to replace the defeated generals and the submissive puppet rulers.

On this day I make a strong appeal to them, on behalf of the Arab nation and its martyrs, on behalf of its threatened future and great past, to begin organizing their ranks in secret with a view to provoking the explosions that will change the Arab map, bring about Arab unity and ensure the emergence of the great Arab revolutionary progressive force in the Arab land.

This appeal will certainly fall on attentive ears. But the response might not come within a week, a month or even a year. The response to Al-Nasir's calls to us, the eternal and heroic battle of Algiers, the 1958 unity [between Syria and Egypt] and the revolution of 14 July 1958 [in Iraq] came in 1969 with the Al-Fatih Revolution. So I am sure that this appeal will be like an order to all the Arab revolutionary forces, both military and civilian, to begin secretly organizing their ranks in revolutionary committees. A day will come when they will say that the day when we addressed the Arab revolutionary forces was a historic day, 11 June, and the ranks began to be organized on that day. They will say in the future: we began organizing our ranks in response to that call on that remarkable day. For him who expects, tomorrow is near.

In reality, we would like to show the world that we are an oppressed people. In 1911 the Italians attacked us without justification. We were safe in our houses when they came to occupy

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our soil; they massacred us and took us to Italy. I am now asking on behalf of the thousands of prisoners taken by Italy — where are they now? Where is their [word indistinct]? Where did they bury them? I am asking for the corpses of the thousand of Libyans and I will not drop this matter. In 1977, under orders from the United States, Al-Sadat launched an air attack on our cities, our villages, and our bases. At the beginning of 1986 France attacked us in the south of our country at the Dumah airport; they fought us in Chad. Its forces are still there creating a state of war for us on our southern borders.

European countries go to Africa. They say they have a right to fight on the borders of another African state. What is this nonsense? If France is fighting in Chad, we have a right to fight in Chad. [Word indistinct] In 1986, immediately after the invasion of France, the United States — a superpower — attacked us; Britain attacked us; Italy and Spain lent their facilities. In reality there is the question of thanks to France because it did not allow the aircraft to cross its skies, yet I do not thank France. On the contrary, France is required to justify the immoral and contradictory stand in its permanent seat in the United Nations because it knows that a superpower attacked a small independent state which only had aircraft which will cross its own skies. France should take responsibility for international security as a country which was given a permanent seat on the Security Council after World War II. Its veto immediately informed the Security Council that night that there was a dangerous aggression and that peace in the Mediterranean was threatened. What is this immoral stand by France? From the part of this [word indistinct] we should have informed [word indistinct] we should have said leave your house, there is an attack on your house. Huge aircraft supplied with laser beams are ready to attack your house to destroy you and your family. Italy knew that there was to be an attack against Al-'Aziziyah gate. It was aimed at destroying Al-Qadhdhafi. Spain, France, and Britain knew what the U.S. planes were aiming to do. These people have got no morales. Should we thank them? I will not thank them.

On the contrary, we despise them and we consider that they have no morales.

If the Italian prime minister is, as they say, a socialist and a democrat and a friend to Arabs, and if he is conscientious, why did he not inform me even by telephone and tell me: An attack is planned on your house? The United States will attack. Why did the Spanish prime minister not [warn me] if he has any morales, and since we ate and drank together in the Island of Palma de Majorca, even for the sake of friendship and acquaintanceship?

Perhaps they were considering their own interests. [Word indistinct] They should think about their interests with the Arab nation and with Libya. Billions [currency not specified] are earned from Libya by Italian companies. They will be deprived of them. France will be deprived. The NATO West will be deprived. Japan will be deprived. From now on, regarding the clothes in the markets and those you are already wearing, any Libyan who wears clothes made in Japan, Western Europe, or the United States will be wearing the shroud of our martyred sons, the martyrs of our people. If the Libyans are still eating food imported from Western Europe, then they are eating zaq-

qum [an infernal tree with exceedingly bitter fruit mentioned in the Koran]. Do you know what zaqqum tastes like? It is eaten by the inhabitants of hell. It is zaqqum. Anyone who drinks anything that comes from Europe is drinking ghislín, hell's Ghislín — pus of the infidel.

God be praised, this is a chance to [words indistinct] of Europe. They are the ones who benefit from us. Their companies, their workers, and their unemployment which they put on our shoulders; their deficit budgets which we support with billions. We do not need anything. (?They) have the complex of the space stations and the nuclear stations. What is the matter with you Libyans? What do you have which makes you need these countries? You pay billions to these countries. The U.S. cruisers which they are threatening us with, and the missiles — they cost \$1 billion, equivalent to 300 million Libyan dinars. Can you imagine a wall [word indistinct] in a radio studio, in a new building, there are things which we can live without (?if the circumstances necessitated that). [Words indistinct] 300 million, 400 million, 500 million Libyan dinars which can build a number of cruisers like the cruisers with which they threatened your existence let alone your independence. Your existence is threatened by these cruisers. Why are we paying these billions? No reason. I'll tell you now.

We must decide to deprive Western Europe, Japan, and the United States and severely punish them so as to bring them to their knees and make them say: We wish the past days would come back. We beg you, you our Libyan masters, forgive us and forgive our companies. Unemployment has escalated; buy our goods, let our companies operate in your country, sell to us. We have stopped selling them anything. Even the oil. To hell with them, we must not sell it. Anything I want [words indistinct] We can live as we did in the past.

They rail against us and say: We will fight Libya economically and we will punish it and we will stop selling it butter. If there are some bourgeois who have always been submissive and who, after the raids, [words indistinct] and say we are submissive and pledge independence, they and the imperialists may go to hell.

When I go just a few steps into the bourgeois quarter, I find that the people know nothing about butter and cheese from the Netherlands, Denmark, and the EEC and they have never used them.

Why should we pledge the future of the nation and the future of the revolution on the needs of a few bourgeois people, bourgeois men and their wives. The bourgeois used to go out on every occasion and every week to buy a new dress. Let the bourgeois pass [words indistinct] Cuban. Let them pass [words indistinct] America. They brought out about 20 million more Cubans [words indistinct]. Let the dogs go to America.

The bourgeois are dogs. They go along with the stray dogs. The stray dogs eat the remains of the food of the Jews and Christians. The bourgeois among you live on the (?products of the) Europeans. Let him go and live on the (?products of the) Europeans.

By God, I will personally intervene tomorrow to permit any Libyan bourgeois who want to run after the smell of the Jews and

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Christians and eat their butter and drink their wine to leave. We will allow him to go. Let them go in a column to the Belgian Embassy which represents U.S. interests or to the other Western embassies. We will allow them to go. [passage indistinct]

Adam and his wife were living in paradise but they did not like it and sought other pleasures. They fell to earth in misery. [Words indistinct] to toil until doomsday.

Libya now is paradise. It has glory and pride. It has been renamed the Great Jamahiriyah after all that glory, because it was subjected to the NATO offensive, NATO [word indistinct] the earth. A small country boldly faced the machine guns. Indeed, the United States (?covered) the Russian missiles; it destroyed them and jammed them. We did not use one missile. We resisted with machine guns. An ordinary soldier, resisting with machine guns.

Can there be greatness more great than this? We faced up to NATO with machine guns. We turned the skies of Tripoli into an inferno. [Words indistinct]

As I have told you, they prepared (?33) planes; only 8 of them remained safe. The others, thanks be to my God who sent soldiers you could not see, fell in squadrons as they came from the sea in the north. Every time, only 7 returned, or 8 or 10. The last raids took place at 2 o'clock at Bab al-'Aziziyah. They told them: You cannot do it. It is hell there. So they dropped their bombs in the sea and went back.

Libya was called great because of this glory, great because it repulsed the attack of NATO and the attack of the United States. The United States, against which the Soviet Union is measuring itself — which one is the strongest? — attacked us by the decision of its president. The Israelis (?told) him: Rid us of Al-Qadhdhafi, the Arabs, Arab unity, and the future of the Arabs. The future of the Arabs must end; only Israel's future must live on. After all this it was imperative for Britain, a great country to agree; even Italy and Spain gave bases to the U.S. fleet in order to carry out its attack on Benghazi. The aircraft-carriers came out from Italian ports and returned to them. (?What was the matter with Italy?) and what is the difference between this and the Grazielli campaign. (?Why did Italy do this?) [Words indistinct] One day we might take thousands of Italians [words indistinct].

Italy destroyed our countries. [Words indistinct]. Germany gave the Israelis (?compensation). They were compensated by Adenauer — Adenauer was only there yesterday. Nazi Germany never did it; it was the contemporary new Germany which compensated the Jews, the Israelis. It was Germany which helped them to gain strength. [Words indistinct] The Germans compensated them. The Italians must compensate the Libyans otherwise the war between us and them is still on.

We do speak up, whether in Benghazi or Jabal al-Akhdar, and state that we want peace in the Mediterranean, Arab-European interests should be preserved and developed, and cooperation should be developed, but we do not accept having U.S. bases, which hit us, stationed in these countries. The Italian prime minister made a speech and stated that Al-Qadhdhafi had spoken with anger, rancor, and religious fanaticism. Well, Well [words indistinct].

There is no understanding between us and them. As for Italy, (?if it wants) to preserve its interests, we welcome that. However, if it allows U.S. bases on its soil to attack us, we do not accept this. [Words indistinct] They knew at least there was an aggression, and that it was against Al-Qadhdhafi's house. [Words indistinct] We are going to deprive them. We have in the forthcoming economic plan, in the coming period, projects to the value of 12 billion Libyan dinars, that is, \$36 billion, of which Europe and Japan must be deprived. All these billions would have gone to Europe. Italian, Spanish, German, British, Japanese, American, Dutch, Belgian and [words indistinct] were going to benefit. All these countries and firms were going to benefit from the \$36 billion, which were to be spent on agrarian reform, light industries, heavy industries, oil, gas, exploitation of power stations, education, health, transportation, maritime transport, railways, electronuclear power, and the information and service sectors. For all this we are going to spend \$36 billion. All of this would have, undoubtedly, gone to Western Europe, the United States, and Japan had it not been for the U.S. aggression against Libya. The U.S. aggression against Libya, with Europe's collusion, has burned \$36 billion which would have gone into the pockets of West Europeans and their firms. We must, however, deprive them. We are the power and we have the power. Who is going to lose? Was it Libyan firms which were going to take \$36 billion from Europe or Europe that was going to take such a sum from us? As for the railway lines, let them not be built! If they have to be built then we will build them ourselves. We will call in China. We will give these billions to the Soviet Union, to Eastern Europe, Austria, Yugoslavia, China and those countries which stood by us. These are the countries to take our billions.

As for Europe we must prohibit everything from it, and — God be thankful, — it was all due to you, the mosque. You know the story of the man who went to pray on the spur of the moment, and found the mosque closed. Originally we had no intention of cooperating with the crusaders, the rancorous and vile Atlanticists. They are our enemies; they are the ones who sow the seeds of all our problems in Africa and in the Arab countries. They have colonized us without justification. They came at dawn in 1911, hitting us with warships while we were in mudhouses in Tripoli, Benghazi and Darnah. [Words indistinct] Is this logical? The Libyan people knows what [words indistinct] in 1911 [words indistinct] even Turkey; it has U.S. bases, and all the U.S. bases were used in this aggression. We must take a stand on this. It is our friend; it is welcome, but you must differentiate between the Italian people, the peoples of West Europe, the American people and the Turkish people, and between the regimes, parties and armies and officials ruling them.

I greet the Italian people, a friendly people. I salute the Spanish people; they staged demonstrations that Arabs could not stage, except in Sudan, Jordan, Tunisia, South Yemen and Syria. Those were the countries where demonstrations were staged, demonstrations of anger and clashes in Tunisia and Jordan. You have seen what the people of Sudan did. Americans were killed in Morocco, Tunisia, and in Sudan. Americans were attacked and killed. Some of them were killed with knives. Italian youths attacked Americans from the Navy, killing one in Naples.

We must realize that we are friends and I am a friend of the Italian people, the people of Lampedusa, Sicily, Pantellaria, and

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I hope that those people will be independent and get out of the Atlanticist hegemony, if the Italian state offers Sicily to the hell of America. It is indeed a hell. Nuclear missiles stationed in Sicily! [Words indistinct] We want peace for the people of Sicily, and therefore they must expel the U.S. bases so that they have peace.

We hit and shelled Lampedusa with missiles and destroyed the telecommunications station belonging to the U.S. Sixth Fleet because Lampedusa was used in the aggression against us. The Italian state offered Lampedusa to the Americans and sacrificed the peace of 5,000 Italians, 5,000 Italians because some of them are of Arab origin and are therefore despised. Italy, the Italian state, wants to eliminate the Sicilian people and the peoples of Lampedusa and Pantellaria because those islands are Arab islands and oppressed. That is the cause of the separatist movements in those islands, where there are indeed persecuted people, and the new world war will destroy them because the U.S. bases are stationed in their lands on orders from the Italian state.

We are friends of those peoples. The people of West Germany love us and are with us. You have seen the demonstrations they started. America is very, very much hated. The Germans and the West European peoples hate the Americans even more than [word indistinct] who went to kiss Reagan's shoes, and the other Arabs. We must decide a punishment for them; a punishment for these governments, these parties and regimes, and we must ally ourselves with the peace movement, the new alternative and the Green Movement, and the new democratic people's mass force, the new alternative in Europe. We must ally ourselves with them. We must not help the imperialist institutions because they would get strong at the expense of the masses and the toilers.

You saw the British people and you saw the messages which I received from the American people. An American woman who does not know us, nor we her, contacted me and told me: They will attack you. She said: They will attack on the weekend. I said that this may be propaganda or psychological warfare. She said: I love you and I am sincere and you should take care because they are about to attack your house. I said that that could have been psychological warfare by U.S. intelligence. That was a woman whom we did not know. Look at the messages I received from the United States.

But the military machine — the capitalist class and the party establishment — ruling West Europe should be punished. We should now impose sanctions as we are strong — strong in fighting and strong in our economy. We should put forward to the people's committees in the (?same area) a huge project located between the town of Al-Bayda and the town of Darnah which will take up 100,000 dairy cows. Libya only needs 34,000 dairy cows. This project situated between the two towns will take 100,000 cows. That will yield three times Libya's milk requirement. We will export two-thirds of the output. We will manufacture cheese. [passage indistinct]

It is now a vacuum; there are only seven people living on every square kilometer. The project will produce milk sufficient for the area and for (?Libya). We will export. Each one of you Libyans who [words indistinct] vegetables, parsley, here is the land: Go and cultivate it. Have someone acting on your behalf to market

your surplus produce. As for the state's production, this will be exported abroad. All the output of the poultry stations should be exported. Even the cattle stations — each one of you should have cattle, breeding a Maltese goat or a camel or a cow. Even the milk produced by the cattle breeding stations should be exported. We export in order to compensate for the war. The state's capabilities should be used for building arms, factories and strategic matters.

There is no state which distributes its budget, saying take this as a salary, take this as assistance, take this as a grant, take this [words indistinct] tourism, take this to buy [words indistinct], take this to buy an electrically-operated wheelchair because you are handicapped. In New York there are tens of thousands of people who are homeless and live in the streets; they have their babies in the streets. But the money is spent on destroyers and aircraft-carriers. [Word indistinct] the poor people [passage indistinct] the detonation of the atomic bomb. [Words indistinct] to help the poor; the poor (?must) beg (?so that we can have) the atomic bomb. They die in the streets. They live in the sewage tunnels. The state does not care for the individual [words indistinct] but it is (?respected). It can [words indistinct] the Arabs with the Israelis, because they have atomic bombs and aircraft. The Israeli citizen [words indistinct] if you die you die, and if you live you live.

This is your land and you must cultivate it. Also, there is another advantage, for you Libyans. The state will no longer compete against you in the market. The foreigners will no longer compete against you in the market. Fill the market with your own personal products. You farm owners satisfy the needs of your family and bring the surplus products to the market. If there are tourists or others who buy from the markets then they will buy your own products. This is better than marketing the products of a public project — if the latter markets its produce for 5 [currency not specified] and your produce has cost you 10 then the project will sell its produce and take the market from you. No; the public project should export. You should export dates, melons — all these products are in demand. [Passage indistinct] and export it.

The cement factories which we have, their capacity and productive capability do not exist in the Mediterranean states. (?They are idle) and produce little. These should be operating at full capacity and exporting. [Words indistinct]

On the other hand I suggest to you barter: As of the new year [words indistinct] you buy rice. Bring two sacks of wheat and here is a sack of rice. Here are sacks of barley, give me a sack of rice. Give me two sacks of wheat and here is a sack of Farina flour from Australia. [Words indistinct] this should apply even to sugar, tea, cloth, and all imported goods. If you want them, take what is available but through barter. [Words indistinct] as to money, we no longer need it [words indistinct] give me rice to the value of money. [Words indistinct] If your farm or your workshop is producing then you have money. But if you have printed paper from a bank, it is no longer worth anything. [Word indistinct] the one who has a sack of money [words indistinct] I propose this to you in barter and I know that the toilers will be with me in this program. The revolutionaries will also be with me in this program. The bourgeoisie, God willing, will leave tomorrow for the hell of the United States and Western Europe [words indistinct].

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All the socialist (?regimes are) with us and have all the capabilities. All Asia, and Africa, are with us. They are all with us, why should we leave them? Cars? If we want to buy cars we buy cars from [word indistinct]. God willing, from any eastern country [words indistinct]. By God they hit us with bombs and we give them (?billions). [Words indistinct] 2 billion Libyan dinars, that is \$6 billion (?iron capacity) we used to give to Western companies [words indistinct]. Listen you Europeans, companies: Die of grief and envy! (?Complain) to your governments and spit on Reagan who has sacrificed the interests of Europe — sacrificed these billions in return for his caprice and his wish to dominate the earth and his hatred of the Arabs. We shall present a file on Reagan, we are preparing the documents now. He cannot dispute that he was in the Gestapo, cooperated with Hitler, and participated in killing thousands of Jews. Then in order to conceal this past he went to Hollywood as an actor to represent the Israeli intelligence and he was a Mosad agent at the time. And he is sacrificing the Americans throughout the whole world to satisfy his sick caprices. All the U.S. companies will be deprived of the railways project which cost \$6 billion and of the electric power station project which they are competing for. Normally there are stations and not one station. [passage indistinct]

We are punishing them. They saw where their interests are and changed their policies. As for the [word indistinct] Arab regimes, we are telling them in advance that they will definitely collapse. God willing, we will celebrate the collapse of Mubarak every year. The popular revolution is coming. We are instigating it. All the Arab military men, from the ocean to the Gulf, are listening to me. The youths are listening to me. I call on you to rise in a revolution. This is because their regimes have failed and are paralyzed and have brought shame and humiliation on the Arab nation. They must be erased by fire, blood and fire, and not by (?shame). They must understand [passage indistinct].

The Jews must understand that we are with them and we will be their allies against Zionism. They must achieve their rights in their countries, and they should not be thrown into this hell. [Name indistinct] said to them: You Jews must go away immediately and [word indistinct] the state of Israel. [passage indistinct]

Palestine is dangerous, a graveyard, a graveyard for the Jews. It is better if you leave it. We, the Arabs, one day, will close this graveyard because it constitutes a danger to us. Not [word indistinct] you. We are against those who occupied Palestine. The Jews might be the closest people to us. Therefore, we struggle with the Jews to fulfill their rights in any country in the world. [Words indistinct] in Palestine. Palestine is a graveyard. Why do they throw the Jews into the graveyard? The Jews should live in every homeland in which they exist. [Words indistinct] in Palestine the graveyard? [passage indistinct]

Cueta and Melilla are a shame. The Moroccan youth should rise in a revolution in Cueta and Melilla to liberate them from the Spaniards, who allied themselves against us [words indistinct]. They ignored our joint culture, joint interests, and joint history. [sentence indistinct]. The Spanish military pride does not accept the independence of Cueta and Melilla. This means that Moroccan and Arab military have no pride, and accept the occupation of Cueta and Melilla. [sentence indistinct].

If there is one [word indistinct] Arab nation, then tens of aircraft would not have passed over Tangier and in front of the Algerian coast, and over Tunisia, and (?over) Egypt. In fact I am [words indistinct] participated in the aggression against Libya.

How did dozens of aircraft cross between Europe and Arab countries [words indistinct] between Spain and North Africa? [Words indistinct] dozens of aircraft took off. [Passage indistinct] to defend our homes [passage indistinct]. The ruling institution is still the same. [passage indistinct] The Turkish people are friendly people, but the people should now unite and [words indistinct]. I would [words indistinct] the group of [word indistinct] of South Angola, UNITA, a terrorist. It [word indistinct] its president, the free man. [passage indistinct].

Nicaragua comprises independent terrorist groups. America trains and arms terrorist bands and infiltrates them through [word indistinct] to Libya. [passage indistinct]. We should meet and decide the way [word indistinct] with courage. We should present historical examples. There will be a turning point in the history of mankind afterwards. It will not go calmly. If one is strong and one is weak they cannot live together.

Either they are all strong or all weak. Therefore, we are looking for power. We are serious in alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist community so as to strike a balance. We followed neutrality and we did everything for nonalignment and neutrality; obviously neutrality does not provide you with water if the nonalignment organization does not protect its members, what is there in it? What shall we do with it? Seek its blessing? This is a neutral state, it was attacked by a superpower which is in alliance with other superpowers. The nonalignment organization did not provide any protection. Therefore, we have not benefited from nonalignment, then let it go to hell.

We must open the doors of our universities to the students expelled in Jordan, Tunisia or any other Arab country persecuted by their governments because of their participation in demonstrations of wrath against the U.S. invasion. They must come to us by any means, overt or covert. We must give them preference over our sons. They must have priority in our universities and schools. Let them hear this call.

We are responsible for all the persecuted and expelled Arab students. And not just students. Every persecuted Arab can come to our country.

If we are to die then let us die; if the [word indistinct] are determined to kill us, they can kill us because they possess all the means to do so. But we can challenge them. We can stage a heroic battle without precedent.

Our paradise does not belong to (?America) so that it can kill us. We decide [words indistinct]. We must be brave. We are not afraid of anything. [Words indistinct] we do not flee the towns, we do not panic or do anything. If they land on the shores, they will find before them 1 million Libyan fighters and they will inevitably be annihilated. If they fire their missiles, we will give them the opportunity to do so until they run out of missiles and then we will come out to fight them. If it is a matter of sabotage, we will commit acts of sabotage. If they want to destroy the

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world, then we will destroy the world. If they want to destroy the Mediterranean, we will destroy the Mediterranean.

We will do all that until they realize that this is a nation which should be respected. Negotiations should be held with it and they should abide by their limits. But if they want to attack us [words indistinct] we must bring on their ruination.

We must live in the world in respect. If we know that we live persecuted and without respect, then we must destroy this world. Let it go to hell. We must depart this world quickly but like martyrs.

The Libyan citizen who has any sense of patriotism thinks of how to work the land and live off it. Brokerage and trickery [word indistinct] are no longer acceptable. A day might come when [words indistinct]. The Jabal al-Akhdar area is a heaven. All these oases are paradises. The great artificial river, God willing, will be completed. God willing, production of the huge 4 meter radius pipes will begin in September. We have laid the cornerstone of the plant in Brikah. God willing, it will begin production next September. After that, God willing, the water will reach the spacious areas covered by the first stage. Probably after 2 years from that the second stage will be completed. Then we will have paradise and we will not need anything from abroad. We can dispense with all of them.

I have forgotten to mention Greece. Greece is a friendly country. It has a European government that has taken a stand better than that of any Arab country, and has been punished. They give to Italy, France, Germany, Britain and America but they deprive Greece. If the Greek bid is 20 and the Western companies' bids are 15 [units not specified], we must accept the Greek bid even if it is 20. Greece, Yugoslavia and Austria are all European countries.

The attitude of Greece was (?great) and at the popular level as well. This is the reason which made us refrain from hitting the island of Crete in fact — the Americans are in Crete. We did not hit it like we did Lampedusa, where the Italians are. We did not hit it because it is not right to kill its people for the sake of the American criminals. God willing, in 2 years' time Greece will leave NATO and expel the U.S. bases. Greece gave an example that should be followed. All the countries of Western Europe should expel the U.S. bases. If they decide to stay within NATO they are free to do so — that will entail special arrangements which are privately theirs. As for the U.S. aggression being launched from the territory of a particular country, and as for U.S. aircraft taking off from a particular country, then this means that that country launched the aggression — it is as if Italy itself or Spain itself had actually launched an aggression against us.

As for someone who died in the Gulf who was a sailor or a pilot, or someone who happened to be at his post when a bomb fell on him, or someone who has 4 wives and 1000 goats [words indistinct] — how can you compare these people? How can you compare a sailor in the navy who has nothing but his salary — he is poor and was martyred for the sake of Libya — he was martyred [words indistinct], and a capitalist who got rich with the money of the Libyans in an illicit way. Poor men do not marry

many wives. [Words indistinct] and steal from the Libyan budget to get married — his wife is the wife of all Libyans [words indistinct].

The Egyptian attitude, of course, which should be taken into consideration, is worse. The Egyptian Government should understand that it went beyond its limit. In 1977 it attacked us by order of the United States and it has now joined their ranks. If the United States attacks us, Egypt attacks us: What is the difference between Egypt and the United States in this case? The agent Egyptian regime recognized the enemy. Their spies came with aircraft guiding instruments. Is this not, by God, [words indistinct]. Let the Egyptian brothers, the Egyptian people, hear what I am saying. [Words indistinct] Your government sent spies, one by one, carrying instruments for guiding aircraft into Libyan territory. Did we do it? Did we send a Libyan with instruments for guiding aircraft, a Libyan spy, to Egypt? The Libyans who went to Egypt went to liquidate Libyans. Libyans against Libyans. It does not concern the Egyptians. We continue with this and this is the resolution of the Libyan people. Each people is free to (?liquidate) its enemies. Did we, dear Egyptian brothers, send Libyan spies with instruments and ask them to spy on Egypt in the interest of the U.S., Russia, or Libya? We did not. Look at your government, it sent Egyptian spies to be executed and to be sacrificed — them and their families — in order to implement U.S. orders.

The U.S. maneuvers carried out in Egyptian territory were applied to Libya and Egypt. This is in fact a state, a regime, which has exceeded the limit and has become a danger to our security and the future of the Arab nation. This should be taken into consideration by the entire Arab nation and by Libyans in particular. Since the issue of terrorism is on the agenda of the world, let Egypt then train the terrorists, let the United States train terrorists, let Britain protect the terrorists, and let Germany protect the terrorists. They protect them [words indistinct] Those who are responsible for the explosions in Syria are the Muslim brothers trained in West Germany, in the United States, and in Britain. The ones we caught in the building said the attack was against Bab al-'Aziziyah. Raspberry! What is Bab al-'Aziziyah? Did they attack Bab al-'Aziziyah? They were (?hiding) in a building and then one of them came and informed on the others and we caught them. Where did they train? Where did they get the weapons from? They were trained in Britain, trained in America. All right, since any place from which terrorists set out should be attacked, we will attack, with our own means, any traitor to the revolutionary Arab regimes who trains in any state. We do not have an aircraft-carrier but we do have suicide (?teams). So, let them know that there is mutual deterrence and that nothing is useful but recognition of the rights of others and sitting down with them to end the problems so that the world may live in peace.

If they had the power and could strike without anyone striking at them, then they would continue and control the world. I have not reached the point of saying to you: That is it, we must convene the emergency Basic People's Congresses and we must decide the way by which we die and live. This point might come. It depends on what these vile and dirty persons will do. The picture might not be as bad as that. I have drawn the worst picture. The way we die — this is what we should decide. But

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death might be to the United States and not us. We might live victoriously, as Vietnam and its people were victorious. We might fight the United States for tens of years. But we have to forget things like seaports, airports, power stations, factories, and coastal bases. They can destroy all these things with their missiles. But we can hit the United States; we can smash its mouth; we can exhaust it; and we can make it see reason. A war like this might end with the unity of the Arab nation — a revolutionary Jamahiri unity — and the United States will lose completely.

We are uniting the Arab nation. If the United States helps us in uniting the Arab nation, then this unity will be a friend to the United States. If the USSR is the one who helps to unite the Arab nation, then this unity will be a friend to the USSR. Our enemy is whoever stops the establishment of our unity. We will unite in spite of our enemy, and all our enemies will lose.

It might happen. I do not like — in fact no one likes — war. I know its effects, especially with a superpower like this. Someone might say: He is asking and looking for war. Never. This is not bravery. Declaring war is not bravery. Bravery is standing firm in a war when it is declared and forced on you, and by accepting it when it is forced on you and by not escaping from it. Any coward can declare war. Bravery is not in guaranteeing the end of the war and in bragging and saying: We will be victorious. Bravery is presenting all the possibilities to the fighters. Victory or defeat will depend on their bravery and resources.

I hope that no war will occur in the whole world or in the Mediterranean, and no world war will occur. I know that a world war would be a disaster. I do not hope for war with a superpower. Is it reasonable for a small country to seek war with a superpower? But if they try to humiliate us, then we should fight them. We fight them and we forget everything. We forget our lives as a whole and accept martyrdom, and we will be victorious. After that we will live again.

The aircraft carriers cannot enter the desert. Their field of action is limited. If they strike with missiles, a missile might go astray in a mountain, valley, desert, or in one of our sand hills and it might not even explode — any missiles, even an intercontinental one.

Suppose the United States has a free hand in the world and is perpetrating all these trivialities. The maximum it can provide could be contained. When the United States lands on the coast it should be burned; its soldiers should become roasted sheep — and eating them afterward is permitted. If it wants to annihilate us let it annihilate us [words indistinct]. They plotted against us and they attacked our homes. If we had had aircraft which could reach New York on 15 April we would not have hesitated to attack London and New York; but we did not have aircraft carriers or [word indistinct] bases. Not because we do not deserve [word indistinct], no, because we are a small country and we have certain capabilities.

The Arab nation should have replied with war against the United States and Britain. It should have boycotted the United States and Britain. The cowardly rulers failed to take this positive action. But they have determined their own end by this stance at the hand of their army, their youth, and their peoples [words

indistinct]. Our leadership of the Arab revolution as I have told you and told the Arab masses, our resistance against imperialism [word indistinct] with blood and nothing after that. [Words indistinct] on the personal and public levels more than this attack. Never before throughout world history has the official state residence of a person's home been attacked by a superpower state. [Words indistinct] Al-Qadhdhafi's home should be bombarded. Right, how did you leave your homes? I have only one house and they thought that they had destroyed it. They turned all their bombs into smoke. [Words indistinct] the 2d month of 1986, and especially made it for Al-Qadhdhafi. [Passage indistinct] made in the 2d month of 86, they brought it from Britain and dropped it by plane on Al-'Aziziyah gate. They were made especially for this purpose. May God defeat them, and God's hand is stronger than theirs. Their bombs turned into smoke. Even the soldiers who were guarding me were standing all about and were fighting on top of buildings, they were brave and they were not hit by any shrapnel. One cut his tongue that is all — a soldier. Two heavy bombs exploded, one in front of him and one behind him. Even the barrack where they were was bombed. You wouldn't believe anyone could still be alive if you had seen it. He cut his tongue, that is all. This is only [words indistinct] but surely there is a bomb which in fact exploded. But the angels are stronger than the United States and than all this fury.

This may be mere talk, but on the other hand, it may be that history, the future [words indistinct]. In April 1805 no one could have thought that the battle will be fought again with the same warships and the same navy against the same country in 1986. Imagine! After nearly 200 years. They attacked us in April in Darnah with their warships. They brought someone called Ahmad Karamanli from Egypt — a nobody — and declared in Darnah that he had become the ruler of Libya. When Darnah resisted them, they were slaughtered when they landed on the coast [words indistinct]. During April and May they occupied Darnah and declared Karamanli the ruler, and he handed them 200 American prisoners of war in Tripoli where they were captured.

But in May, help for Darnah came from various parts of Libya. The battle was waged and after 11 days they were defeated. Karamanli the shameless ran to Darnah harbor to beg (Eaton), the commander of the U.S. campaign, to evacuate him with the rest. He said to (Eaton): Did I not bring you the Arabs who killed (?the Americans)? Did I not bring you agents? Did I not hand Darnah and Libya over to you? Did I not make it easy for you to enter Libya [words indistinct]? The American commander replied: I have no time for you. Then one of their soldiers [words indistinct] the supplies. A month earlier Karamanli was the ruler over all Libya [words indistinct]. The bourgeoisie and the agents wanted the same thing and asked to be saved: Save us! How can you leave us behind? The Americans said that they would save their soldiers first. They left them to be captured by the Arabs and left them at the mercy of the Arabs [words indistinct].

This the fate of those who cooperate with the United States. Look! About 200 years later the aggression is repeated. Go back to what I told you in Darnah on 11 June 1977. I do not want to say something that you do not take in and understand. We should appreciate our responsibility. This is our destiny. We want the

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well-being of ourselves and the well-being of mankind. We want to liberate ourselves and live in peace and security on our land.

There were children — imagine, our children were asleep in their homes and they did not know that while they slept modern aircraft equipped with lasers and the biggest bombs came to hit the children while they were asleep. The children were in a deep sleep and were asleep beside their mothers but they did not know that there were aircraft in the air — that destruction was on its way. These dogs are still using the excuse that we are terrorists. Are we terrorists? We defend Palestine, our land, and our freedom. On the contrary, we give our money to the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance so that they can escalate their operations. Any European state which recognizes the Israeli enemy should pay the price because Israel is our enemy. Wherever the Palestinians go, the enemy is in pursuit.

The Palestinians have a right to resist in every field. (Wherever there is a Zionist presence) it should be resisted. The Israelis [words indistinct]. We hit wherever there is a Zionist presence.

Yes, he is an enemy occupying my land. [Words indistinct] the Palestinian people are an oppressed people. Why do they not [words indistinct]. Because they are spiteful and crusaders and antisemitic. The Arabs are semitic. Europe is antisemitic. The parties and parliamentary establishments and capitalism of Europe are antisemitic and anti-Islam and very hateful. They adopt the American attitude and do not adopt the Palestinian attitude. The Palestinians are an oppressed people. [Words indistinct] The struggle goes on and, God willing, we await [words indistinct].

[Video shows Al-Qadhdhafi, wearing a military uniform, seated behind two microphones throughout the speech. Speaking in colloquial Arabic, Al-Qadhdhafi refers from time to time to a stack of papers in front of him. He occasionally shifts position behind the microphones causing poor audio reception. The broadcast was in black and white throughout]

Demonstrations Held, Effigies Burned

LD112222 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic
2030 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Text] Immediately after the brother leader of the revolution addressed his important speech to the Libyan Arab masses and the masses of the Arab nation, huge popular demonstrations took place on the streets in various municipalities throughout the Jamahiriyah.

In the municipality of Tripoli, thousands of people gathered in a demonstration in Green Square, where effigies representing the traitor Husayn and the two child murderers, Reagan and Thatcher, were burned. The Arab ambassadors participated in this mass demonstration, where they were handed protest notes from the gathered masses.

[Video shows blurred pictures of mass demonstration in Tripoli showing large numbers of Libyans shouting slogans; the video is accompanied by someone shouting slogans which are indistinct]

'Mammoth Marches' Continue

NC120703 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic
0500 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] The great popular celebrations marking the 16th anniversary of the expulsion of American bases from Libyan Arab soil are continuing in towns throughout the Great Jamahiriyah with various sectors of the population taking part.

In Tripoli, the masses of the people's congresses, along with students and producers, staged mammoth marches last night in the city's Green Square in support of the important speech delivered by the brother leader to the Libyan Arab and Arab people on the 16th anniversary of the expulsion of U.S. bases.

A number of speeches and statements were made during the marches, which converged in the Green Square. They condemned the shameful visit that the agent King Husayn paid to the American Black House, and his humiliating kiss of the hand of his master, the rabid dog and Mosad agent, Reagan, whose hand drips with the blood of martyrs. The statements called on the Arab masses of Jordan to revolt and topple the agent King Husayn in order to rid Jordan of its agent regime and to liberate Palestine. The masses also burned effigies of agent King Husayn and the rabid dog and Mosad agent, Reagan.

The masses handed copies of cables which protested and condemned this visit to Arab ambassadors attending the festivities in the Green Square.

Moroccan Group Joins in Anniversary

LD111124 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 0715 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Text] Tripoli, 11 Jun (JANA) — Members of the large delegation of the Moroccan people who are now visiting the Great Jamahiriyah have participated, in a big gesture of solidarity, with their brothers the Arab people in the eastern part of the African Arab Union in the popular celebrations which began in Tripoli yesterday evening marking the start of the festivities of the 16th anniversary of the eviction of the U.S. imperialist bases from the homeland.

The members of the Moroccan delegation at this solidarity meeting held high the pictures of the brother leader of the revolution and King Hassan II and the flags of the African Arab Union. They also joined their brothers in the eastern part of the union in cheering for the revolution and for the long life of the leader of the revolution, King Hassan II, and the union. They chanted slogans of defiance and of determination to rout U.S. imperialism and realize comprehensive Arab unity.

The masses and members of the fraternal Arab Moroccan delegation chanted "down with America" and "one people from Marrakesh to Bahrain" and "No to capitulationist solutions; Palestine is Arab."

The fraternal Moroccan delegation which arrived in Tripoli 2 days ago to join their brothers in the eastern part in their celebrations of the anniversary of the eviction of the U.S. imperialist bases also comprises a brass band; a modern musical